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so formidable and irresistible as to leave open no other option. For many Orokaiva, this became a certainty only as a result of what to us would seem an entirely unconnected event, namely the Mount Lamington eruption of 1951. The effect of this eruption on Orokaiva ideology is worth a brief analysis here because it provides evidence that the 'new day' ideology is still essentially based on the traditional exchange-oriented Orokaiva philosophy. We find that the cataclysm was universally ascribed by the Orokaiva to the breakdown in an exchange relationship with some *dema*, and that many believed this *dema* to have been the Christian God. On the basis of this theory, the Orokaiva were led to search for more effective mediating links between themselves and these powers, so as to avoid similar misfortunes in the future. Development activity and baptism were the most important of the mediating elements in which they placed their faith.

As I have already published a full survey of Orokaiva explanations of the eruption (Schwimmer 1969), my summary here will be brief. In 1966, during visits to Inonda, Hohorita and Sivepe, I interviewed a number of survivors about the explanation of the disaster given by people *at the time it occurred*. All informants were agreed that at that time the increasing rumbling in the mountain, the tremors, the smoke issuing from the crater, the showers of ash, the emission of stones and fiery particles, and finally the Peléan eruption, were all ascribed to the anger[6] of Sumbiripa, the god of the mountain, though there were varying explanations of the probable cause of that anger. These statements tallied with published evidence from two clergymen, both present in the Northern District at the time of the eruption, who refer to the people's fear of the anger of Sumbiripa (Tomlin 1951, Benson 1955).

Evidence of a different kind comes from two anthropologists (Belshaw 1951, Keesing 1953) both of whom interviewed survivors a few weeks after the disaster. Belshaw summarises Orokaiva explanations as follows:

> Some people said that this was God's visitation because they had disobeyed the Bishop's instructions to build new churches. Others said that God had punished them because they had not helped the Allies sufficiently during the war and because some of them had betrayed missionaries to the Japanese. (Others again mentioned) lack of co-operation in Mission and Government plans for development. (1951: 242)

Keesing agrees with this summary, adding that the eruption resulted in 'strong feelings of insecurity and even of guilt in their retrospective look at the pre-eruption way of life'.

Many resident Europeans, including the Bishop of New Guinea, the Most Rev. David Hand, confirmed Belshaw's and Keesing's account, but the Bishop told me that the mission has since discouraged the Orokaiva from thinking that the Christian God harboured anger against them and expressed it with such indiscriminate violence.[7] Hence this explanation is no longer heard. People nowadays believe that the eruption was caused by the anger of Sumbiripa or, if they wish to display a modern scientific attitude, they will repeat what they have been told about vulcanology.

Explanations based on the anger of Sumbiripa, the government and the Christian God resemble each other in that they are all based on the concept of a

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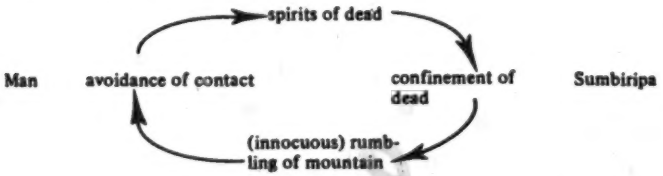
784 social exchange relationship in which the Orokaiva thought they had defaulted.
823 In the case of Sumbiripa, this relationship was a rather special one as Sumbiripa's
795 gift is the safe confinement of the dead, whereas man's gift is avoidance of any disturbance of Sumbiripa's mountain. Man mediates the relationship by sending his dead to Sumbiripa, whereas Sumbiripa mediates by emitting his usually innocuous rumbling. Before 1951, Sumbiripa had never erupted in living memory. We may express this in the following diagram:

MODEL 9



One theory of the eruption was that man had broken the exchange relationship by hunting on the mountain with guns. This disturbance angered Sumbiripa so that instead of innocuous rumbling he emitted the full blast of his immense and disastrous fury. The effect of breaking the exchange relationship with the Church was thought to be disastrous in precisely the same way. Just as the rumbling of the mountain suddenly became lethal instead of benevolent, so the 'communion' offered by the Church suddenly turned negative, dispensing retributive justice instead of mercy. Similarly, default in a social exchange relationship between human beings may lead the wronged person to give Alter misfortunes and diseases through sorcery, instead of the benefits he would otherwise bestow. If a relationship is broken, the wronged partner may respond by invoking negative mediating elements to obtain redress.

823 This dangerous trend may be reversed by expressing repentance, and by
797 receiving forgiveness (see models 1 and 3).[A] Subsequently, the offender will be more careful, if he is prudent, to stop the relationship from breaking down. Thus, after the eruption, the Orokaiva became more careful to carry out development activity (model 7)[B] and seek baptism (model 8).[C] The fact that the Anglican Mission denied that God had been angry would in no way diminish their solicitude, as such denials are always issued by offended exchange partners as part of the ritual of showing their forgiveness. Detailed empirical evidence given elsewhere (Schwimmer 1969) in fact shows that the eruption speeded up the development of the *iji eha* ideology among the Orokaiva. It would be wrong, however, to suppose that the supernatural fear propelling the Orokaiva towards development and baptism was due to a cruel deception by the mission or to irrational self-deception on the part of the people. It may equally well be regarded as a case of rational choice. It is not at all irrelevant to emphasise that development and baptism, in fact the whole *iji eha* ideology, was a sensible direction for the Orokaiva to take. The explanation of the disaster which they adopted was not a blind reaction to external vicissitude but rather the strategic reinforcement of a mythical charter for institutions mediating a valuable

A [See Category 829, pp. 58-9--Analyst]
B [See Category 657, p.75--Analyst]
C [See Category 797, p. 77--Analyst]

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423 ground, and with harvesting, which he may not do. Upon marriage, the new wife
241 is usually expected to garden on her husband's land. There is a fiction that, at the time of marriage, she 'does not know' the work she is expected to do on the
[581] land of her new affines. Her mother-in-law has to instruct her and it is only after
[585] such an apprenticeship that her husband's people consider her competent to tend taro on their land, harvest it and offer it to visitors in proper style. She would usually have been trained in these tasks by the women of her own clan, but the subtleties of family traditions differ.

423 As against these male and female obligations, we may note some clearcut
593 rights: the man's right to his wife's labour and the wife's equally important right
241 of unlimited access to the husband's garden land and to its produce. This right extends not only to harvesting food for the household, but also for gifts she may choose to make outside the household, providing that she manages the food
[578] supply so as to avoid shortages. A domestic dispute I observed in Sivepe
[586] (referred to in Chapter III above) illustrates the importance attached to this married woman's right. When this dispute was adjudicated, the 'explanation' of the breakdown of the marriage was found in a single incident, namely the husband's instruction to his wife not to go to his garden again. Here, in the view of everyone present, lay the 'root' of the trouble, a judgement with which the husband was willing to agree. This prohibition to go to his garden is one of the few things a husband is on no account to utter to his wife; it amounts to total repudiation of the conjugal relationship.

[431] This brief discussion of social practices has already indicated that a garden
[462] plot is a gift made by a man to a woman, while the productiveness of the land is a gift from a woman to a man (because a man can neither plant nor harvest). Let us now consider to what extent the nature of these gifts may be clarified in the
423 light of rituals, myths and indigenous explanations. It will be best to begin with
241 some legal ideas about land. As has been pointed out by Salisbury (1962: 67ff.) among others, several sets of rights arise with respect to any one piece of land: rights of the village, of the clan, of the lineage, and of the 'father of the ground' or trustee. It is the last-mentioned person who assigns a piece of land (*enda*) to a cultivator for the purpose of making a garden (*pure*). The cultivator to whom
[562] land may be assigned may be either male or female. Among the Orokaiva it is
[462] common for women to have land assigned to them for cultivation in their own right, even though most land is assigned to males. They receive this land mostly from a father or brother, sometimes from their mother. When a woman wishes to have a garden established on her land, she (voluntarily) transfers the land to her husband or another male on a temporary basis so that he can carry out the
[789] crucial male tasks without which the garden cannot be made. These tasks are ritual as well as productive. It is common for the men of a clan to hold a feast together and to kill a pig from which they eat and obtain strength (*ivo*), before clearing new ground. The fertility of the soil depends greatly on getting a good burn after clearing, and a good burn depends on climatic conditions that can never be wholly predicted. I was unable to find out much about the ritual connected with clearing but gather it had to do with control over the sun and
●[775] the rain. Another magical danger that arises in new gardens comes from the ghosts (*sowai*) lurking in the reverted gardens or bush that is being cleared. The garden thus established is the gift made by the man to the woman; the *pure* is

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423 593 [578] one party fails to make the required response. It creates a wrong impression to speak of land being 'vested' in a man if all he has (independently of some woman) is a cleared patch of ground on which nothing grows; nor is the woman in a better position as she cannot (independently) bring any crop to maturity as she needs the man's garden magic. As we shall see below, 'rights' in all Orokaiva land transactions are limited in some way similar to this.

3. *Land Transactions between Men and Spirits*

775 423 887 241 A second basic transaction mediated by the land is that between the soul of a recently deceased person and a new-born infant. The Orokaiva believe in transmigration of souls. But this transmigration occurs through the mediation of the piece of land where the spirit of the dead person has taken up special residence. This is usually the garden he or she was cultivating at the time of death. It is a fact of Orokaiva life that old people do not stop gardening as long as they have any strength left in their bodies. Waddell's study of time allocation in Sivepe showed that after the age of fifty-five, time spent on productive subsistence activity, especially in the garden, declined only slightly, whereas non-productive activity (e.g. social obligations, dealings with external agencies) declined very sharply (1968: 104). Old people devote their reduced energies almost exclusively to their gardens, grow progressively closer to their gardens and away from the social network, until finally, after death, their spirit becomes still more closely attached to the land. Their souls re-enter association with the village through transmigration.

775 768 241 Crops from the garden cultivated by the deceased may not be eaten by any member of the deceased's lineage. They are harvested by the heir and given away by him to persons outside the lineage. No *here* are taken from these crops. After a suitable period of fallow, the garden is replanted, but even then the land is not thought to be free of the deceased's spirit. Very often the son or brother of the deceased plants the garden and uses the produce to give a feast. It is thought that the spirit presents no danger to food grown in that plot afterwards.

775 851 774 Transmigration is affected by a ritual performed shortly after the birth of an infant. The parents take the child to the land where the spirit of the deceased is believed to reside. They seek the spirit by placing leaves of a fragrant plant called *mo* in a creek which runs through the land. When the spirit is thought to have entered the leaves, the parents address it thus: 'You are dead now. We shall look after the land and we shall look after the baby so it will become big and strong. Then this child will look after the land.' The wife, in preparation for this rite, has brought the baby to the garden in a string bag, and has also brought a stick. When she arrives in the garden, she places the stick in the ground and hangs the baby in its string bag from the stick. After the ritual by the water, she drops some of the leaves by the stick, then takes the baby, the bag and the rest of the leaves and returns home with her husband. The custom is for the husband to say at night: 'I hear the baby crying.' He is expected to go back to the garden and talk to the baby that is believed to be in the stick, telling it that the parents will now look after it and there is no need to cry. He should then take the stick, with the 'baby' inside it, to his home.

[753] The significance of this ritual became a little clearer to me through the case of

a baby, named Jarata, who became sick and died at the age of nine months (of gastro-enteritis). I was told the cause of death was the father's neglect to collect the stick. The baby Jarata who died was described as a spirit baby (*meni ahihi*); the real baby (*meni be*) had been left in the garden inside the stick and was taken away by the fairies (*sovai*). When the baby became sick, the medicine man went to collect the stick, no doubt with appropriate magic, but it was too late; the 'real baby' was no longer there.

This explanation, referring to the father's neglect, was given by members of Jarata's maternal clan. But I was given a second explanation by the child's paternal clan. According to them, the child died because the mother did not look after the land properly. The assumption here is that if the garden where the child obtains what we provisionally call his soul is well tended, then the child's body will also grow well, but if the garden is neglected (horticulturally or ritually), the child will become sick and die. This intimate connection between the garden and the well-being of the soul endures to some extent throughout life but is especially critical in infancy before a child is able to walk and grows teeth.

It is clear that the 'baby in the stick' resembles what is generally known as an 'external soul'. In its more usual form an 'external soul' resides in an object which is carefully preserved from danger, for any vicissitude that may threaten the object will also threaten the life of the person to whom the 'external soul' belongs. Normally such an object is carefully buried and kept out of harm's way. It appears that the Orokaiva do believe in external souls in this sense, and that they reside in particular specimens of a plant after which a person is named; but that is not relevant here. The concept of the baby in the stick differs in interesting ways from the usual kind of 'external soul'.

The first difference is one of terminology. When I asked whether the part of the baby that was in the stick was called its *ahihi* (spirit) this was denied explicitly. On the contrary, it was the *ahihi* of the child that the mother took with her to the village after the ritual and it was the *ahihi* that the mother was left with when the child sickened and died. The child I had been looking at for several months and that died of gastro-enteritis was nothing but an *ahihi* and it was for that reason that it wasted away and could not live. The part left in the stick and stolen by the fairies was actually the child's *hamo*, its body. Emphatically, therefore, the Orokaiva believe that *ahihi* can be corporeal and that *hamo* can be incorporeal.

Let us now consider more precisely the transaction between deceased and infant that may be called transmigration of souls, which is mediated through the land. Let us start with the death of a man of the Seho clan who was called Jarata (1). Jarata's spirit stayed on the land he had been cultivating at the time of death. Some six years later, Jarata's brother lent this land for a season to Gilford, the husband of a classificatory sister. Gilford's wife was pregnant at the time. When the infant was born, it was named by the man who had lent the land, and was given the name of the dead brother, Jarata. As far as I understand, the effect of this act of naming was to attach the *ahihi* of Jarata (1) to the infant, Jarata (2). (A male infant may obtain its name from either its mother's or its father's patrilineage.) But in addition to *ahihi*, the baby had to be given bodily strength and vigorous growth, in other words, it had to have *hamo*. This could be obtained only from the garden where Jarata (1) was still present. Jarata's *hamo*

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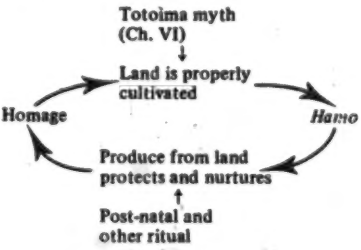
was thought to inhere in his old garden plot and in the products growing there, or more specifically perhaps in the water flowing through the garden, for it is in the water that the dead tend to live, even though in a more general sense they are everywhere in the garden, as well as in the abode of the dead under the mountain and in other places also. The transfer of the *hamo* to the child is a drawn-out process that may last a year or so. It is done through the mediation of the stick. A mother carries this stick with her every day as she goes to the gardens and she is supposed to hang the child from the stick as she does her work. I have actually seen another mother do this for months. The child draws soul substance through the stick all the time and as the taro and other crops fill out and become vigorous, the child will do the same. It is through this absorption of *hamo* that the child can later fulfil the promise made to the dead Jarata, namely to look after the garden from which he has drawn his life-force.

The ritual formulae spoken by the parents in the garden and quoted above both clearly have the form of a bargain, by which the spirit of the deceased is asked to give *hamo* (a combination of supernatural protection and nutrient strength) to the infant in exchange for proper homage. This transaction may be expressed in the following exchange cycle.

MODEL 12



Superficially, it may appear that the exchange cycle given here offers a generalisation that goes far beyond the data I have presented. My data present a transaction between a deceased and a particular couple, with one particular child, who promise to look after the land. My model, however shows a transaction between any spirit attached to a piece of land, and any cultivator. Yet it may rightly be argued that every couple cultivates, at one time or another, a large number of plots, and that only some of these plots are linked to their cultivators through post-natal rites performed in respect of themselves or their children. This argument, however, is irrelevant. Spirits are attached to every garden plot, and there is always some person charged with the care of those spirits. The senior member of an extended family, the 'father of the ground' (*enda mama*) has the ultimate responsibility to see that the spirits are not neglected. When he gives any cultivator a usehold over a piece of land, it is understood that this cultivator takes over the care of the spirits on the land. This care includes making food offerings to the spirit on a raised platform built for that purpose. More broadly, the responsibility to the spirit also involves the proper performance of all ritual and horticultural activities prescribed as parts of the cultivation cycle.

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Why does man have this duty? According to the data I have presented, the duty arises out of a promise made at the time of birth. The land is identified with the ancestor who gave the infant its body. The cultivator works not only to 'survive' but also to repay to that ancestor the debt he has incurred by being given a body.

These beliefs are relevant not only to land as a mediating element between living and dead, but also between man and man. The religious system is unconcerned with the consanguineous relationship between the living servitor and the spirit of the dead. It is the service alone that counts, while the capacity to provide the service rests on no more than the authorised occupancy of land. The implication for land transactions between men is that such transactions can never be purely economic.

In the present instance Jarata's brother, in lending his plot to a classificatory brother-in-law, simultaneously passed over the duty to care for the spirit of his dead brother, whose spirit resided on that plot. This is especially interesting as that affine (and his son Jarata (2), if he had lived) belonged to a clan different from the spirit's. Thus, on a religious level, there is no recognition of a clan's 'right' to certain land, but only of a sequence of cumulative co-operative acts between man and spirit, such that each move by one party calls forth an appropriate move in response. We shall now turn to the social aspect of these transactions, i.e. the conditions upon which authorised occupancy is granted.

4. *Transfer of Useholds between Agnates*

In suggesting that land transfers should be studied as social rather than as economic transactions, we may meet with the initial objection that land transfers occur in response to economic needs and are adequately explained without introducing social considerations. But among the Orokaiva, there are many land transfers for which an economic explanation would in practice be hard to find. Certainly there are cases where land is transferred to a household notably short of land, but I know of more cases where the purpose of transfer was to have the company of a good friend on a neighbouring plot and other cases where the only discernible purpose was to make a gift and strengthen a social bond. Crocombe and Rimoldi have recorded a large number of land transfers in Inonda and Sivepe, a large proportion of which were outside the extended family and even outside the lineage. By no means all of these were redistributions to help the deprived. Many were mainly for the sake of strengthening sociability. It is therefore reasonable to inquire into the significance of land in the mediation of social relationships.

We may, first of all, divide these transfers into two broad types: those occurring within corporate groups, and those occurring outside them. In a strict unilineal system, it would be possible to draw a land map showing areas owned by a lineage, and if the system were segmentary, one might speak of a clan domain, a tribal domain and so forth. Such boundaries would theoretically remain unchanged in perpetuity as each generation inherited holdings in the patriline or matriline. No New Guinea system of which we have a recent professional description approximates even remotely to such a model, at least in practice, as we find that many land holdings in so-called patrilineal groups pass into the hands of uterine kin and affines. Among the Orokaiva the departures

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596 In any case, there are no strong economic or political reasons to prevent the splitting of the patrimony. Nor are there religious reasons, because every married
428 male is fully competent to carry out ritual in the garden he is cultivating. The
[775] Orokaiva do not have primogeniture in the sense intended by Raglan (1963:100); it is not in the *enda mama* that the spirits of the ancestors are reincarnated, but in all the individuals of the extended family. The *enda mama*, therefore, is not the sole channel of charisma, but rather a kind of revered manager. He usually contrives to keep the patrimony together through the respect and obedience that is due, in Orokaiva custom, to a father and elder brother. I know of several instances where this authority was challenged and found that, in practice, the sons of younger brothers were not cut out of the patrimony, but their share was cut out and the relationship was severed.

596 Informants were all agreed that at any time either the *enda mama* or the
578 junior member of a land-holding corporation may opt out of the relationship:
593 such a separation involves, first of all, the breaking down of a social relationship in which protection is exchanged for deference and obedience. Therefore such a breakdown involves a high cost for both partners. When I inquired into some breakdowns that actually happened at Sivepe, I was given two kinds of explanation: (*a*) the senior partner broke off the relationship because he was not obeyed; (*b*) the junior partner broke off the relationship because the senior 'did not look after the land properly'. The first kind of explanation suggests that the elder partner, not receiving obedience, no longer received any rewards from the relationship and therefore terminated it. The second kind of explanation is more obscure as I never could find out just *how* the seniors had failed to protect the land. I gather there had been bad harvests, that the juniors thought something was wrong with the land, or that the senior had done something to provoke sorcery which endangered all the land of his lineage. Whatever the details, the juniors felt that the cost of deference to their elder brother was no longer warranted, in view of the amount of 'protection' they received. There was no fear, in any of these cases, that such a separation would be followed by retribution, physical, magical or supernatural. As I showed in Chapter III, the Orokaiva accepts fraternal strife as a natural consequence of events in primal time.

596 When such separations occur within a three-generation extended family, they
613 are regarded by the community as (minor) misfortunes. On the other hand, they
423 are regarded as normal when they occur between first cousins in a four- or five-generation lineage. Implicit in such judgements is a notion that there is a
571 lower and an upper limit to the useful size of corporate groups. The young man who loses land rights because he has nobody to 'speak for him', obviously needs incorporation in a group. The secure man in middle age who has his land interests cut out of the control of the *enda mama* obviously feels that the useful upper limit of the corporate group has been exceeded. We may express the transactions at the lower and upper limit of the useful size of groups in the following exchange cycles:

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best definition of 'residual rights' would be 'benefits that are claimed when the social exchange relationship has broken down'. They are a sanction applied to punish the loosening of quasi-filial allegiance. 423 425 571

The case of Inonda is atypical as the entire village domain is held under an arrangement derived from the ideology of exchange. A more frequent pattern is for an individual to own some blocks of land in virtue of more or less permanent gifts. In neither case does this land mediate sacred and indissoluble bonds. In the case of patrilineal inheritance, the individual violates no supernaturally sanctioned rule if he cuts himself loose from his *enda mama* (and often keeps his land). In the case of land gifts, he may also cut himself loose if bonds of affection and expediency weigh less with him than the cost of satisfying his donor. If he should break with his donor, there is likely to be theft, intrigue, sorcery and perhaps violence and it is quite unpredictable who will eventually occupy the land.

If a man has only gift land at his disposal, he is in an insecure position in his relations with his exchange partners. This seems to be the case in Inonda. If a man has only patrimony land, we may assume that he has no close bonds outside his extended family and lineage, as such close bonds would probably have led to offers of land. Such a person has too narrow a base of social support in the community to count for much, and to counter effectively challenges to his position and property that will be made from time to time.

7. *Conclusion*

It remains to be shown that the facts and analysis of land transactions illustrate the general principles set out at the beginning of this chapter. I have dealt with a series of social relationships in which one partner has a strong need to identify with the other, to maintain a stable and permanent bond and to obtain what the other has to give. This need was sometimes social, sometimes economic, sometimes emotional, sometimes religious. All these bonds depended heavily on land for their efficacy. 423 571

I have shown that a donor of land does not necessarily separate himself irrevocably from the land as such, but from the usehold of it and thus from the productivity of the land for a certain period. There are no return payments which can ordinarily compensate for the gift, the main purpose of which is to mediate a certain social relationship. The donor can never quite know in advance whether the gift will be efficacious, as the receiver of the land may not, in the end, make the social prestations for which the donor hopes. The receiver is usually someone from whom substantial social support, in one form or another, can be expected. The relationships arising in land transactions are therefore precisely those which my model was designed to interpret. 423 425 571

In the introduction to this chapter, I argued that a gift could be regarded as a 'mediating element', for the purpose of my analysis, only if there is identification between the donor and the mediating element. In the case of land, we have seen that the owner strongly identifies himself with the lineage spirits believed to be resident on the land. The land is a part of him, just as his ancestors are a part of him. By transferring the land to another person he causes that other person in turn to identify himself with the land. He is thus magically 423 425 775

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imbued with the spirit of the donor and (ideally) compelled to behave as though he owed the owner quasi-filial allegiance. This is a magical action of precisely the kind I envisaged in the introduction to this chapter.

Finally, a transfer of land may be maintained indefinitely as long as, in the donor's view, it has 'virtue', i.e. as long as it mediates the kind of relationship the donor desires. But when the relationship breaks up, for one reason or another, the owner desires to have his land returned to him. This is why 'residual rights' on cash cropping land are so awkward. The modern age, the desire for money, the commitment of productive effort outside the range of the security circle all tend to disrupt the relationships envisaged by the lender of land. Meanwhile, modern political, judicial and administrative institutions have taken over many of the functions of the old-time alliances which were bolstered by land gifts.

I have explained in detail why traditionally the Orokaiva considered land to have 'virtue' as a mediating element in their most intimate alliances. In particular it mediates the bonds between husband and wife, spirits and living, paternal, junior–senior agnates and maternal family, and between an indefinite category of close friends.

Land may also act as a mediating element in a negative exchange between a sorcerer and a person who has aroused the anger of that sorcerer, as happens when the former blights the crops of the latter by placing a curse on the land. In many situations of this sort, events which we would class as metaphysical, physiological or climatological are explained as arising out of social exchange. Such beliefs tend to increase the importance attached to the maintenance of satisfactory social exchange relations because the averting of misfortune in the metaphysical, physiological and climatological realms is made conditional upon successful social relations.

The prosperity and opulence of the land thus becomes a measure of its owner's moral and spiritual wellbeing and the amity with which he is regarded by his fellow men. A good man is a good gardener: a good gardener is a good man. This equation is not arrived at by the Orokaiva with the aid of some Frazerian notion of contagion, but on the assumption that the good man has good exchange relations: therefore nobody would wish to harm his garden; therefore the garden must necessarily be in perfect condition. In this as in many other instances exchange is used as the *explicans* of what might well be explained in many other ways. It is because of such gratuitous use of exchange as *explicans* that I am inclined to regard it as a key concept in Orokaiva philosophy.

REFERENCES

1. I am using the term 'transcendental' in the sense of Schutz 1967 who demonstrates the transcendental expenses arising in social relationships.
2. For the location of Garombi, see Fig. 10.
3. These growers held certificates of title issued by the Higaturu Local Government Council, but these certificates have no legal force. I shall discuss in the next section of this chapter the pressures by which the Orokaiva are gradually being induced to establish sole titles.
4. Money as the means of salvation is a theme of many millennial cults, as is argued in detail by Burridge 1969 (*passim*, but see especially pp. 41–6).

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she takes them home. The brother is clearly identified with taro growing in the field.)

7. The story tells in more detail than is relevant here how the sister learned what had happened, how a magician from Managalasi brought the brother back to life by giving him the heart and intestines of a wallaby, how this man married the sister and how the young man killed his father when the latter returned to complete his meal. He cut his father into many pieces which were shared out among men whose descendants became the various population groups in the Northern District, as discussed in Chapter III.

The myth takes us through two complete cultivation cycles from the planting of the *bere*, the covering over with weeds to protect them from the sun, the gradual growth of the plants under the care of the woman, to the shifting of a new *bere* to a new garden, and finally the growing of these new *bere* to maturity. I was given no explanation as to why the myth contains two cultivation cycles rather than one, but it becomes clearer if we regard the myth, on the horticultural level, as symbolising the domestication of what was at one time a wild plant. At this level, the myth starts with the finding of wild taro and the transplanting of the *bere* of that taro to a garden clearing. When these *bere* grow to maturity, new *bere* are taken from them and these in turn are transplanted. The products of this second planting are regarded as properly domesticated taro.

One may well wonder why the second cultivation cycle was introduced into the myth at all. Direct inquiry did not produce wholly satisfactory answers. [262] People no longer eat taro that grows in the bush, I was told, because it does not taste sweet, it is small, it hurts the mouth. Nobody transplants wild taro *bere* to cultivated gardens nowadays; this was done only in the times of the ancestors. Informants' attitudes to this question were often of this kind when we were [715] discussing the jungle. It was above all a place where the ghosts (*sovai*) lived and therefore dangerous. Wild pigs, especially, often harbour ghosts. If plants or animals are domesticated, it is the dispelling of ghostly essences that is the objective of the practices followed. I shall show this in more detail when discussing the domestication of pigs. Taking into account this fear and suspicion of the bush, it is understandable that a seed taken from the bush is not regarded as domesticated just because it has grown to maturity in a garden. A plant grown from a bush seed is regarded as still being contaminated by *sovai* influence. It is only the second harvest that can be regarded as wholly belonging to the domesticated domain.

[715] We have already met the same idea when discussing the taboo on taro-growing on a dead man's land. This taro is effectively contaminated in the same way as [784] bush taro. It is not eaten by those whom it endangers. The next crop planted is still dangerous, and it is only the second planting after the previous owner's death that is free from taboo.

This discussion has already developed one of the main themes of the myth, namely the opposition between bush and garden, the wild and the sown, the dwelling place of spirits and the cultivated domain from which they are carefully banished. If we now turn to the message transmitted by the myth at the social level, we find a similar opposition, namely that between Totoima and his wife. Totoima who kills his own children, using his tusks as he does so, has partly a pig

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Taro given for	*Maintaining relationships*	*Starting relationships*
Parts of plant given	tuber only	entire plant
State of preparation	cooked	raw
Donor's sex	female	male
Ancestral twin with which gift is identified	female sibling	male sibling

The giver of a feast is always a male. Taro is hardly ever the only gift made on a ceremonial occasion, as pigs, *hambo* etc. must also be presented. Nonetheless, taro is essential as a mediating element in the starting of a 'new' relationship.

What is the significance of taro gifts in this context? Sahlins' suggestion that staple food when used as a gift object is symbolic of hearth, home and mother seem less cogent here than in the case of gifts of cooked food discussed earlier. In previous chapters I have presented a method for interpreting actions aimed at the establishment of social relations. I suggested that some objects are believed to have a special potency in attracting partners and that this potency is believed to be due to the presence of the donor's spirit in the gift object and the transfer of that spirit to the recipient through the mediation of the object. The questions are these: why, and in what circumstances, can a *male* use taro for the mediation of social exchange? What is the mythical and philosophic charter for such mediation? What is the distinctive power of feast taro to compel the recipient to respond to the donor's wishes?

The spirit substance transferred by the *male* when he gives taro at a feast is derived from his ancestors who are present in the land and in the tops of the taro. Just which ancestors are thought to be present it is hard to say, but they include the dead of the lineage who have used the land and they also undoubtedly include the spirit of the original *dema*, Totoima. It is believed that only certain varieties of taro are capable of successfully transmitting spirit in this way. These are known as feasting taro (*pondo ba*). I obtained a list of them, but this list was not very instructive. It contained virtually all the taro varieties growing in the informant's garden, though I was able to identify a few grown varieties which were specifically stated to be unsuitable for feast taro. Only a small minority of plants growing in the gardens belong to these varieties.

Males can use taro for the mediation of social exchange only if they are feasting varieties and if they are displayed, complete with tops, in such a way that they may symbolically represent Totoima's son: lying on a *gaga* with their chests turned upwards. What message does this symbolism convey? Totoima's son appears in the myth in two apparently contradictory roles: that of victim (eaten by his father) and of victor (killer of his father). So much is indisputable fact. It is easy to see what the gift of a feasting taro might mean if we take this symbolism to its logical conclusion. The message would be: 'You may eat me now; I shall kill you later.' No informant actually explained this meaning to me and this interpretation is therefore no more than conjecture. It accurately represents, however, the actual traditional relationship between feasting partners. A man who gives a feast deprives and humbles himself; every one of his gifts is symbolically a sacrifice of himself. His feasting partner is, in a symbolic sense, his enemy with whom he is now becoming reconciled. In order to effect

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lies neither in communion nor in expiation, as they are essentially magical devices to bring about a transformation in social relations with a partner.[1]

While this partner may on occasion be a close kinsman who is given a feast for some special reason, he often has a rather distant position in the exchange network of the donor, with whom commensality occurs only on rare occasions. Not only do feasts tend to extend in this way the range of individual social networks but they are especially apt to extend the range of social relations existing between villages. Feasts are often given by one village to another, thus leading to the establishment of at least one partnership between each household of the host village and each household of the guest village.

The explanation of pig sacrifices requires an elaboration of my model of exchange. The models used so far may be called *transactional*. One may distinguish between positive transactional cycles (in which the two sides exchange benefits mediated by gifts) and negative transactional cycles (in which the two sides exchange sanctions mediated by penalties). In addition one may construct *temporal* cycles, which may show the alternation between friendship and anger, offence and repentance, mortification and forgiveness. A violation of the exchange code will shift a relationship from a positive into a negative transactional cycle, while a reconciliation feast will restore positive reciprocity. The value of pig sacrifices lies in their power to set a relationship upon a course of positive exchanges where, previous to the sacrifice, the two sides were engaged in a mutually injurious exchange of sanctions.

This implies an assumption about the nature of social relations: namely that they cannot be described as intrinsically positive or negative. One cannot divide the Orokaiva social universe into concentric circles distinguishing between permanently friendly and permanently hostile groups. The most one may do (if one has data over a sufficient period) is to show that in the association between villages A and B the cycles of negative reciprocity have been relatively short while between villages A and C they have been relatively long. In this sense one may call B a 'friendly' and C a 'hostile' village, and it may be expected that inter-village feasts, in which pig sacrifices figure, will be more frequent between A and B than between A and C.

This conceptualisation is not based on my own private theory of sociality, but on the Orokaiva expressed belief that strife is a 'natural', i.e. *dema* established consequence of social relations. This belief implies that any relationship will tend to alternate between positive and negative cycles, primary kin relationships not excepted. In *original time*, we find only positive cycles of reciprocity; strife periodically engenders negative cycles, while pig sacrifices lead to the periodic restoration of positive reciprocity.

2. *The Wild Pig: Marauder*

To the Orokaiva the wild pig is above all a troublesome enemy, as it attacks taro crops in gardens and is liable to kill an unwary hunter. It lives in the jungle where it is believed that ghosts (*sovai*) may enter its body. A pig inhabited by a *sovai* is especially dangerous and harmful to man. The ontology of the pig is explained in a series of myths of which the following, recorded by Williams, states its message most clearly:

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into two separate realms: the human world, comprising villages and gardens, and the wild world, *ariri*, the bush, where everything is dangerous and inimical to man, and where the ghosts (*sovai*) have their abode. The area friendly to man is thus reduced to a small space, whereas the area hostile to man is an infinite expanse. Thus man is forever at strife with all but a small circumscribed portion of the universe. The myth of pig-man restates in another idiom the message of the primal theft of the piece of string.

3. *Domestication of Pigs: Husbandry*

Separate though the worlds of bush and human habitation may be, Orokaiva still view them as linked by an exchange relationship. One side of this transaction has already been described in detail by Williams (1930:267ff.). A man becomes a *sovai* at death. As such he enters into various animals. An important class of *sovai* (though not all *sovai*) can be recognised by the abnormal appearance or behaviour of the animals into which they have entered. They are greatly feared and are thought responsible for a great variety of misfortunes. Thus if a man fears the supernatural dangers of the bush, he does not regard these as generated by anything inherent in nature, but as introduced by dead hunters and killers who retain their human wilfulness while deprived of human bonds.

In certain special circumstances bush creatures may re-enter the protected confines of human society. The most important example of such a reverse transaction between bush and village is furnished by the domestication of pigs. There is, of course, no zoological difference between wild and domestic pigs, both being scientifically known as *sus papuensis* and known in the vernacular as *o ohu*. The myths explaining the domestication of pigs are all very simple. In one of them the first pig ever killed by man was a sow marauding the taro gardens. After killing her, men heard a mournful song by the root of a tree. It was sung by her piglets who were thirsting for their mother's milk. The piglets were taken to the village and became the first domestic pigs. The piglets' song, of course, is still known.

The breed has continued until today, being constantly replenished by foundlings from the bush. As boars are castrated, sows mate in the bush. In the bush around Sivepe some wild boars must still exist, though these are probably the offspring of tame sows who have escaped to the bush.

The domestication of piglets is a complicated task which I once saw performed at Inonda. When a piglet was found in the bush it was given for rearing to an old woman who was an expert at domestication. She made a medicine by chewing together betelnut, *hingi* (a peppery leaf) and *arifa* root (in Sivepe *akore* root would have been used). She spat this medicine into all body apertures: mouth, eyes, ears, nose, rectum, genitals. A few hours later she carried the piglet to a creek, washed it and placed it in a string bag (*eti*) in the same way as a baby. Five days afterwards, the piglet could be seen walking through the village on a leash, held by its 'mother'. After two or three weeks, it was regarded as domesticated.

The medicine was intended to seal the piglet from *sovai* who might otherwise enter it. As a bush animal, the piglet was considered impure, dangerous, and liable to spirit entry. The Orokaiva believe that it is *sovai* contamination which

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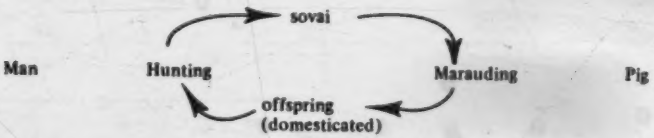
231 distinguishes wild pigs from domestic ones. Once the spirits have been effectively
825 expelled, the piglet *thereby* becomes domesticated. This means that it obeys the
calls of its mother. It learns to forage in disused gardens but keeps away from
[789] growing taro. The piglet will not stray too far into the bush but comes home
[775] every night to be fed, and goes to sleep under the house.

Yet some danger of *sovai* contamination always remains. It may happen that a village pig stays away in the bush and does not return when its mother calls. The mother keeps on calling it from day to day, still hoping that it will return, but after a fortnight or a month it is accepted that the pig has gone wild. Or else it does return when the mother calls but returns to the bush as soon as it is fed.
[775] In all such cases people say that the spirits took the pig away and did not send it back.

These facts suggest an exchange cycle arising out of the following four notions: (1) A man turns into a *sovai* upon death. (2) *Sovai* entering pigs maraud gardens and attack humans. (3) A pig is domesticated by the driving out of the *sovai*. (4) Meat from the domesticated pig provides man with the *ivo* (strength) he needs for hunting pig. (This *ivo* makes man a dangerous *sovai* after death.) This cycle may be expressed as follows:

MODEL 22



431 Live domesticated pigs are not used a great deal for the mediation of social
231 exchange. Certainly the rearing of pigs enters widely into the exchange of
prestations between the sexes, for it is a task women customarily perform for
[462] close kinsmen (husbands, brothers, sons). In addition it is not infrequent for piglets to be given to relatives and friends from different villages whose wives then rear them 'for the owner'. Salisbury (1962) noted a similar custom among
437 the Siane, but here the purpose was somewhat different. The Siane have feasts
231 at which 150–200 pigs are slaughtered. Here the recalling of lent pigs is an essential prerequisite for the holding of a feast and, indeed, feasts on this scale
[171] would be impossible unless the task of rearing was distributed among several villages. Orokaiva feasts involve far fewer pigs (seven, at a Hohorita feast, seemed normal). Admittedly, lending pigs for rearing does have an obvious economic advantage, similar to the one suggested by Salisbury: once the owner has lent a piglet to a man from another village, he finds it easier to resist demands that will be made from time to time by relatives who 'urgently' need a pig for purposes too compelling to ignore.

Basically, however, this institution is just another way of mediating social exchange. By lending a man a piglet one starts a partnership. The partner does not usually return the pig he has reared but instead gives a piglet which will in turn be reared by the original donor. One might say that the offspring of the donated pig returns to its 'mother's' village. In this way the institution of

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CORRESPONDENCE

Virgin birth

Sir,

121 [114] The contributions by Spiro and Kaberry in your June issue (3, 242–61, 311–13) and the continuing correspondence (3, 651–6) prompt me to mention briefly the views on physiological paternity held by the Orokaiva of Papua, as explained to me when I was doing fieldwork there in 1966–1967.

842 [715] The Orokaiva believe that a child is conceived when the spirit of a dead kinsman wishes to enter a new human body. If a newborn child is a male, it is believed to have been formed as the result of sexual congress between the father and mother both of whom have contributed 'blood'. The birth of the male child is, therefore, explained by a combination of two events, the entry of the spirit and sexual intercourse. If a newborn child is a female it is believed to have been formed by 'a woman sleeping alone', i.e. the female child is not thought to have a human genitor. While this theory leaves open the possibility of 'virgin birth', Orokaiva notions about the development of the embryo go against it. The growth of the embryo must be stimulated by frequent sexual intercourse. A spirit is said usually to choose a sexually active woman for its rebirth.

553 842 The customs concerning the naming of children are consistent with this theory. The naming of girls is always left to the mother's consanguines as the spirit which entered her is thought to belong to a deceased maternal consanguine. The naming of boys is more complicated as the question arises whether the spirit entered the mother and thus fertilised her, or entered the father and passed from him to the mother. In the former case, it is presumed that the spirit was a dead consanguine of the mother; naming is then entrusted to the mother's consanguines. In the latter case, it is presumed that the spirit was a dead consanguine of the father whose kinsmen are accordingly entrusted with the naming ritual. About half of the male babies are, according to my records, named by maternal relatives, and half by paternal ones.

851 [614] A medicine man (*sivo embo*) is called in to determine to whose side the spirit of a male baby belongs. Both the male and the female babies become part of the paternal clan (the Orokaiva are patrilineal). If a man has paid bridewealth for a woman, he is pater to all the children borne by that woman as long as the

PART I: INFLUENCES EXTERNAL TO THE COMMUNITY

CHAPTER 1: The Eruption and Evacuation of Survivors

Section 1: Mount Lamington: Cosmic Centre and Volcano

823 773 Mount Lamington has long had, to the Orokaiva people, a significance somewhat similar to that of Mount Olympos to the Ancient Greeks. It is the omphalos kosmou of Orokaiva myth: the origin of death, warfare, fire--and generally of all those cultural elements established by the transforming deities--are traced to the Mountain, while the division of the people into distinct language groups is likewise a primordial event that occurred on the Mountain. [775] The departed spirits of the Orokaiva have their home there, headed by the first man to have suffered death, Sumbiripa, to whom all the activity of the Mountain is ascribed. Signs from Sumbiripa reach the living regularly, because at all times the Mountain has rumbled and sent forth tremors and smoke.

These facts appear clearly from the cycle of myths, centred on the Mountain, collected by me in the vernacular in 1966-1967. The cycle is far too elaborate to be explained as a recent development. It might, however, be argued that before the disaster of 1951, the omphalos kosmou was located elsewhere and that it has since been "relocated" to Mount Lamington. The fact that F. E. Williams was unaware of the mythical importance of Mount Lamington gives some force to that contention. As against this there is the testimony of missionaries (Tomlin, 1951; Benson, 1955) who knew the Orokaiva well before the eruption and who had no doubt that Mount Lamington [776] was then regarded as the home of the dead. Even more conclusive are statements from numerous informants at Hohorita and Sivepe, all of whom interpreted the eruption as the work of Sumbiripa, the Lord of the Dead, who lived in the Mountain.

[774] Does this mythology provide evidence for previous volcanic eruptions? Marie Reay, who was in the district at the time of the eruption, found that "the natives had no knowledge, or legend, of an earlier eruption." (Quoted in Taylor 1958; 21.) I wonder, however, whether in those chaotic days she had much opportunity to make a systematic study of the mythology. I collected a myth of the origin of death which is certainly suggestive of earlier volcanic activity though it is impossible to be sure of the physical phenomena to which it alludes. I recorded four versions of this myth in full vernacular texts, one from Sivepe, one from Torogota (another village in the Sasembata area), one from Hohorita and one from a

731 near the boundary of Sivepa gardens. A crippled woman who could not run away described to me how, during the period of darkness, [775] people who had come out of the mountain (i.e., dead people) tried to kill her but did not succeed. On Tuesday, Mr. Kaad went to survey this area, prior to setting up camp at Waseta. Apart from these old people and the crippled woman, he also found that some local people of the Sasembata area, who had fled on the Sunday, had already returned and were milling round their old homes. He told them all to go to the camp at Wairopa.

The village constable's story also contained a reference to this meeting with Mr. Kaad, but introduced some of those slight twists or reinterpretation of the facts which are always characteristic of Orokaiva information. According to this story, the village constable met Mr. Kaad at Avala and said to him: "I want my people to go and see their dogs, pigs and chickens." Mr. Kaad then permitted three or four men from each village to go and look and come back again. When the people returned after their period in camp, the animals were still there. The evidence shows plainly that Mr. Kaad had to show a certain firmness to induce all these people to stay away from their villages. Even two days after the eruption they appear to have felt an inclination to return.

One interesting detail of the Sivepa experience was that the old people did not leave their village land at all on the day of the eruption. The Sangara people, who escaped from devastated villages, invariably told me that none of the older people were saved. They gave as the reason that these old people were unable to run fast enough. After obtaining this Sivepa evidence, I reinterviewed one or two of the Sangara people and it would seem that the old felt no real desire to escape from the mountain.

Kaad's arrival seems to have induced the stragglers to move on to Waseta and from there to Wairopa. The government's air-dropped supply of emergency rations began to be delivered to Wairopa. The centre of this camp was the government rest house, while the refugees began to build shanties for themselves. I collected few data about the Wairopa camp because its duration was only a few days. During this time, government and mission personnel began to arrive from Port Moresby via Kokoda, while Mr. Searle continued to do the radio communication work. The camp had to be abandoned a fortnight later because of dangerous flooding of the Kumusi River on whose banks it was lodged. Taylor describes the phenomenon as follows:

> Mudflows, which were a characteristic aftermath of the explosive activity (of the volcano), were a natural consequence of increased run-off from the denuded slopes and of the great abundance of loose fragmental material. The run-off became great rumbling torrents of viscous mud

361 In the period from January, 1951-1967, the location of the villages now known as Sivepe and Inonda changed several times. In [114] the Sivepe area settlements had always been unstable. Rimoldi has made a valiant attempt to reconstruct shifts of residence from the time of European contact to the present; involved though his reconstruction is, it probably tells only part of the story. In 50 years, the groups now represented in Sivepe had between them been involved in shifts of residence between a series of 14 village sites within an area of about two square miles adjoining the Sohu [659] River. It is clear that the government carried out some village consolidations in the district after the second world war, but before the eruption. Most of the people now living at Sivepe were, at that time, shifted to a village called Pamba, which had been occupied earlier by the Seho clan only. After the eruption, Pamba was at first reoccupied, but soon the village was shifted almost a mile away, to a place which was called Sivepe. This new village (see Map V)[A] differed from the pre-eruption one in layout, method of house construction and spacing of the dwellings. It conformed to the model advocated by the administration and observed by the refugees when they were at Wairopi and Ilimo. In 1965, Sivepe was shifted to its present site, and higher building standards and better sanitation were again introduced (see Map VI).[B]

Both these shifts were connected with topographical relation- [578] ships and social relationships outside the village. The first of [628] them, in 1952, seems to have been precipitated by a quarrel between the Timumu clan of Pamba and the resettlement village of Kongohambo, which then had a population of almost 1,000, over garden damage caused by pigs. Sivepe was much farther away from Kongohambo than Pamba. The second shift was in the opposite direction. It was a move which brought the village closer to the road, closer to the mission, and the reduced distance from Kongohambo no longer mattered as this is now a village of average size, with which good relations exist. The people who lived in Kongohambo in 1952 have returned to their homes closer to the mountain.

These shifts in village sites are accounted for by almost a 361 superfluity of reasons. Rimoldi was told of almost all the shifts 657 he recorded that they were made upon the instructions of the government. I was told of shifts that were made because of deaths attributed to sorcery and because of quarrels between neighboring 361 villages which were too close together for comfort. I witnessed [628] one shift after a death of an old man where sorcery was not [754] suspected (as he was old) but being unbaptised he could not be buried in the Christian cemetery which made people fearful of his [764] ghost. The population of this village shifted to nearby Hohorita, a move which was in any case favoured by the government. A reason [775] that was also sometimes given was that the houses were all old and the place was becoming unsanitary. A reason never explicitly given, but perhaps as important as any other is the Orokaiva's dislike for

A [See Cat. 116, p. End Map 5--Analyst]
B [See Cat. 116, p. End Map 6--Analyst]

794 women who had joined the group favoured another site: a small settlement
575 very close to Sivepe and the mission station and affiliated with
578 Sasembata village. They never suggested the "practises" should be held in the station. Indeed, although they proceeded night after night, usually from about 10:00 p.m. until well after midnight, the head teacher did not know about them almost until the end, until he drove home late one night and heard something (he did not know what) from the road. Some nights there was no practise because the two sides could not agree on a site. The men seemed to be somewhat irritated by the constant presence of a mission teacher in the village, in a conspicuous role of authority, over their own women. They countered by complaints about the "noise" which made it impossible for them to sleep. This made it easier for the Sivepe women to agree to practise in the next settlement, though they also practised near the house of one of the village dancing leaders who lived away from the complaintants and was sympathetic to the kere. In the end, the usual split did occur: the mission women did not actually dance with the group from Sivepe and Sasembata village, but pulled out and formed a second kere party together with Kongohambo women, under the leadership of the deacon's wife, who also knew this dance. Both parties performed in the final performance at the mission station.

These events definitely show the mission station as a cultural force, quite independently of the mission teachers' ecclesiastical or schoolmasterly role. Sivepe was willing to offer the mission station a certain amount of compliance, in return for the valued knowledge that was being supplied, but fought--with success--against the mission station's attempt to use to the occasion to place the village in a position of socio-political subservience.

Section 3: The Mission and Traditional Religion

771 The Orokaiva attitude to Christianity is a complex subject
776 which I intend to treat more fully elsewhere and falls somewhat outside
177 the concern of our present project. It is very clear that some basic notion of Christian montheism have not been accepted by the Orokaiva, such as for instance the notion of God's omnipotence. Orokaiva Christians believe in the existence of God and in His infinite power, but He is viewed as an addition to other powers, who is hostile to some of these other powers, but not necessarily to others. I was told that a person ought to give up black magic after baptism, but informants dismissed my suggestion that Christianity was also opposed to curing magic. No curing magician ever ceased practising when he was baptised.

177 I have referred several times to the tendency to place ancient
[788] ritual under the protection, so to speak, of the new God. Rituals connected with the taro cycle were performed at Christmas and Eastertime, perferably on the mission station. While the beliefs about the ghosts
● [775]

of the dead remained basically unchanged, Christian burial rites and cemeteries are generally used in the belief that they are efficacious in controlling ghosts. Girls were "shown to the people" after initiation, preferably on the mission station during the Easter dances. The kere which was a women's initiation dance, was also performed on a mission occasion (the celebration of St. Barnabas Day, in honour of the patron saint of this station).

What was the motive of mission teachers introducing a new form of initiation ritual to the Orokaiva? This extramural activity, performed in the dead of night, signified a little more than the intertribal status rivalry analysed earlier in this chapter. The text of the songs gives no obvious clues to their significance at the present time. Though it was made up of at least four or five languages, due to diffusion of the cycle through the Northern District, I managed to collect a translation of most of it during a tour of Port Moresby when we visited knowledgeable members of various Musa River tribes. The songs evoke a series of phases in a woman's life, stating symbolically her role in initiation, courtship, marriage, childbearing and feasting. They are very rich in symbolic content which is not relevant here. But they contain no message that can be related to any modern millennial or cargo cult. During a visit to Uiaku, in the Collingwood Bay district, my wife found that the old women in that village knew the songs but not the younger ones. This points to diffusion from the Musa to the Collingwood Bay district some decades ago. All this evidence confirms the mission teacher's own explanation given to me that he introduced this cycle in order to keep old traditions alive, in order to give more strength to the younger generation which had not been properly initiated.

I was impressed by the strong religious sentiment displayed by the performers especially in the very first dances. They might at that time be doubtful about dance movements and words but not about the demeanour appropriate to the impersonation of spirits. At the very first practise, even the young girls knew the right bearing, intonation and rhythm. This was not truly the introduction of an alien ritual; the purpose and the strategy could not have been more familiar.

The involvement of my wife in this initiatory ritual helped to lend it the ambiguity that was evidently intended. It was not the purpose of the mission teacher to set up this pagan ritual in opposition to Christianity but rather to bring about its continuity in a Christian order. I have already shown in earlier chapters that the Christian dispensation is conceived as not only a religious but also and importantly a socio-economic one--that Christianity, wealth and wage labour are perceived as part of the same complex. If it can be made to accommodate women's initiation ceremonies (after jettisoning, of course, those aspects to which the clergy takes exception) future generations will have the strength of the forefathers. This desire for greater strength, in a physical and numerical as well as spiritual sense, was often expressed to me.

affairs, but gives all his declining energies to his garden, keeping as close as possible to the productive level of his better years. He draws closer and closer to his garden where his spirit will dwell after death. Apart from the garden, he becomes remote from most things; his days of household duties, hunting, fishing, building are over. He will, however, make dancing ornaments and weapons and headdresses which again lie close to the spirit realm. (I have quoted Waddell's statistical evidence for these tendencies in Table 18.)[1]

How did culture change influence the division of labour between the sexes? For the traditional productive activities, there has probably been hardly any change. I have quoted a table of exclusively masculine and feminine activities collected by Williams in 1923, and hitherto unpublished (Table 19).[2] Certain tasks of importance were omitted from this list, which may explain why Williams did not publish it. Sago making was probably always a male activity; so was the use of the digging stick preparatory to planting taro and yam. The harvesting of taro was probably always a specifically feminine task; there is clearly a taboo on men against harvesting taro. Even bachelors never do it but must leave it to his mother, his sister or his brother's wife. If men did it, I was told, they would not "know how" and they would never manage to eke out the crop until the next harvest. This did not apply to the harvesting of other crops. When Williams classified "planting" as a feminine task, he was probably thinking of the actual placing of the cuttings in the ground, though I have seen men as well as women do this.

In the Orokaiva view both man and woman are repositories of capacities and resources specific to themselves; the relationship between man and woman is the giving of exchange (mine ari) of the contributions of each. Man views woman as an equal exchange partner and this equality is real even though the care over legal and political matters is a distinctively masculine contribution. In the new activities introduced since European contact the same balance is preserved. Some new duties (e.g., the washing of clothes) were added to the specifically feminine preserve, church work and the purchasing of goods became a predominantly masculine preserve (as is attested by Waddell's statistics). The harvesting of rubber, taught exclusively to men on the plantations, became an exclusively male activity. On the other hand, the bulk of cash producing activities (working for pay, maintaining, harvesting and processing of coffee) were shared.

One interesting observation made by Waddell and confirmed by me is that most marketing of subsistence crops is done by the women whereas marketing of coffee is done by the men. The handling of harvested crops is normally a woman's prerogative. These are normally carried in large string bags which only married women can own and hang over their heads. While the casual European observer supposes that the women carrying these large bags are reduced to the status of beasts of burden, these bags signify the women's exlusive power over the crop; the fuller they are, the prouder the women are of them. Thus, only

A,B [See Cat. 116, pp. 225, 226, respectively--Analyst]

621 station. The Horeopa leader, who was the owner of this land, then
361 invited these other clans to come over and make Hohorita into one united big village. When the clans came over in 1959, they followed the same pattern as the Sorovi immigrants followed in Sivepe: they arranged their houses so as to maintain, in a subtle but unmistakable way, their own identity. They formed in effect a second rectangle which formed a harmonious continuation of the first rectangle but which was separated by just half a chain. In 1966, the front and the back half of Hohorita held separate feasts, each inviting a different village. In 1967, the councillor made plans to clear the gap between the two halves, remove the two old houses which emphasised the separation and build new houses in the cleared area to join the rows together.

Around this time, the Sombou people began to establish themselves in Hohorita, leaving their old village behind. I think it was they
[769] who filled the gap between the rows. The councillor had long been at
● [775] pains to close down the small villages of Sombou and Kakita and Sombou was finally persuaded after the death of an old migrant who had remained a pagan. As he could not be buried in the Christian cemetery, and people did not feel disposed to carry out the full involved ritual to placate the ghost, they preferred to shift their village. (They thought that pagan ghosts are far more dangerous than Christian ones.)

361 Hohorita, like most resettlement villages, lies along the main
368 road to Popondetta, 11 miles from Popondetta, seven miles from Saiho hospital, three miles from the Higaturu Council chambers. The school, conducted by the mission on Hohorita station, offers an education to the end of Standard 3.

621 The two feasts held in 1966 were intended to introduce into
433 Hohorita the pigless era advocated by all councillors. I arrived a
434 month or two after the feasts and by that time two very small pigs had appeared which were there for a special reason I have forgotten. Sombou and Kakita still had a normal complement of pigs. Coffee was
[231] a somewhat bigger enterprise in Hohorita than at Sivepe. The trees were much better looked after, and there were far more of them. Every
[245] man had his coffee garden and an income of $100 per annum from coffee was normal. Young trees were also being planted at a much faster rate.
[166] Compared to Sivepe, there were very few wives whose husbands were permanently away working. The reason for this was that there are a number of plantations quite close to Hohorita and those who needed to work to pay off bridewealth, etc., could do so without going too far afield. Money to pay taxes and other regular outgoing expenses
464 would come from coffee. Men who were able to find skilled jobs,
167 clerical or professional work usually had their wives with them. An important resource of Hohorita, not shared by Sivepe, is the availability of good jobs within a reasonable distance; the fact that Hohorita families do not break up in the same way as Sivepe ones indicates that such separation is probably economically motivated. It is necessary for a young man to earn his trophies, so to speak, which in the modern world means money, but if he can do it without a prolonged absence from home, he prefers staying home.

his wife; the two were separated and found themselves on different crags. Sumbiripa became the first man to die, the master of the mountain within which he has since dwelt together with all Orokaiva who died subsequently.[12]

The myth explained the shape of the mountain as it was before the eruption. The crags are not there today because they were blown apart by the eruption. The myth also explained the rumbling of the mountain and the smoke that issued from it long before the eruption of 1951. Such phenomena were regarded as signs sent by Sumbiripa. Ritual prohibitions limited access to the area close to the crater as there was a belief that Sumbiripa, if disturbed, would be angry. There was also a great fear of the dead who were supposedly dwelling in the mountain. It is believed that the dead wander about the countryside, where they may attack humans. Sumbiripa is dangerous, even if he does not erupt, because he can send out his ghosts to cause misfortune among men. The myth about Sumbiripa Kanekari hints at the possibility of an earlier eruption by the account it gives of the origin of the crags existing before 1951.

The sociological importance of the eruption lies largely in the explanations of the event developed afterward by the survivors. These explanations are related to the situation of Orokaiva society in 1951. Here we must distinguish between the situation as it appeared to the Orokaiva individual or to small refugee groups and the collective situation of the Orokaiva tribes as they collectively perceived it, in terms of the basic forces shaping their social life at that period. We may follow Burridge (1960) in identifying these basic forces with the colonial government, planters and traders, the mission, and relations within and between tribal groups.

Immediately after the eruption, the situation for individuals and small groups was dominated by fear of the mountain, grief for dead relatives, and anguish at separation from the land. The situation was influenced, moreover, by abrupt changes in social organization. The Sangara fugitives mostly fled alone or in very small groups, leaving behind their numerous dead; the Sasembata fugitives mostly fled in village groups led by their village constables. While the disaster made the Sangara leaderless, in Sasembata it merely reduced dependence on traditional leaders at the gain of the village constables whose responsibility was greatly increased. Village constables were members of village communities ap-